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BRIEF

#163



Secret

USSR: THE ANNIVERSARY OF THE 27-30 SEPTEMBER 1965 CPSU PLENUM ON KOSYGIN'S ECONOMIC REFORM HAS PASSED WITHOUT NOTICE IN THE SOVIET PRESS--A SILENCE IN STRIKING CONTRAST TO THE FANFARE EARLIER THIS YEAR ON THE 10TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE MARCH 1965 PLENUM WHICH LAUNCHED BREZHNEV'S NEW AGRICULTURAL PROGRAM. THIS BLACKOUT PROBABLY REFLECTS NOT ONLY THE COOLING OF OFFICIAL ATTITUDES TOWARD THE 1965 ECONOMIC REFORM, BUT ALSO BREZHNEV'S INCREASING ATTEMPTS TO REDUCE KOSYGIN'S ROLE AS THE CHIEF ADMINISTRATOR OF ECONOMIC POLICY. THESE EFFORTS, EVIDENT SINCE 1974, ARE ALSO REFLECTED IN A SERIES OF NEW CENTRAL COMMITTEE DECREES WHICH SUGGEST THAT PARTY OFFICIALS ARE DIRECTLY EXERCISING FUNCTIONS NORMALLY HANDLED BY THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS.4

2 THE IGNORING OF THE 10TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE SEPTEMBER 1965 PLENUM IS THE MORE STRIKING SINCE

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SOVIET CALENDARS PREPARED EARLIER HAD NOTED THE DATE. THE BLACKOUT EVEN INCLUDED SPECIALIZED ECONOMIC PAPERS SUCH AS ECONOMIC GAZETTE AND SOCIALIST INDUSTRY AND ECONOMIC JOURNALS SUCH AS PLANNED ECONOMY AND QUESTIONS OF ECONOMICS, AS WELL AS ALL REPUBLIC PAPERS, INCLUDING AREAS LIKE BELORUSSIA, WHICH IN THE PAST HAD DISPLAYED NOTABLE ENTHUSIASM FOR THE REFORM. KOMMUNIST, INSTEAD OF THE EXPECTED ANNIVERSARY ARTICLE, CARRIED AN EDITORIAL ON BREZHNEV'S NEWLY PUBLISHED COLLECTION OF SPEECHES ON THE ECONOMY.4

BY CONTRAST, THE MARCH 1965 AGRICULTURAL PLENUM ANNIVERSARY WAS MARKED WITH NUMEROUS EDITORIALS AND ARTICLES, THE PUBLICATION OF A SPECIAL BOOK AND THE HOLDING OF A WELL-PUBLICIZED CEREMONY ATTENDED BY SEVERAL POLITHURO MEMBERS. MOREOVER, REGIME FIGURES INCLUDING BREZHNEV HAVE PARTICIPATED IN EXTENSIVE CELEBRATIONS OVER THE PAST MONTH MARKING THE 40TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE STAKHANOVITE MOVEMENT--AN ECONOMIC

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APPROACH FUNDAMENTALLY AT ODDS WITH THAT OF THE ECONOMIC REFORM.Y

SOME FORESHADOWING OF THIS IMBALANCE IN TREATMENT OF THE TWO 1965 PLENUMS WAS PROVIDED BY THE OCTOBER 1974 CELEBRATION OF THE 10TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE OCTOBER 1964 PLENUM WHICH REMOVED KHRUSHCHEV AND PLACED BREZHNEV AND KOSYGIN IN POWER. IN ALMOST ALL ARTICLES PUBLISHED TO OBSERVE THAT OCCASION, THE ECONOMIC REFORM AND KOSYGIN WERE IGNORED, WHILE BREZHNEV AND HIS ECONOMIC PROGRAMS WERE EULOGIZED AT LENGTH.Y

BREZHNEV HAS BEEN INCREASINGLY ASSERTING HIS ROLE IN ECONOMIC POLICY OVER THE PAST YEAR. IN OCTOBER 1974 HE CLEARLY INFRINGED ON KOSYGIN'S WELL-ESTABLISHED PREROGATIVES BY ADDRESSING THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS ON ECONOMIC POLICY. IN MID-1975 HE BECAME AN ECONOMIC AUTHORITY IN HIS OWN RIGHT WITH THE PUBLICATION OF A COLLECTION OF HIS SPEECHES ON THE ECONOMY, MATCHING KOSYGIN'S PUBLISHED COLLECTION OF

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SPEECHES, MOST OF WHICH CONCENTRATE ON ECONOMIC MAT-
TERS. THE MOST RECENT INDICATIONS OF THIS TREND
HAVE BEEN SEVERAL CENTRAL COMMITTEE DECREES SEEMINGLY
REFLECTING THE ASSUMPTION BY THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE
OF A ROLE NORMALLY EXERCISED BY THE COUNCIL OF MIN-
ISTERS.

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1. LEBANON: SCATTERED INCIDENTS OCCURRED MONDAY NIGHT IN BEIRUT, BUT THERE WAS NO RESUMPTION OF THE HEAVY FIGHTING THAT HAD ERUPTED SUNDAY NIGHT. COMMERCIAL ACTIVITY IN BEIRUT WAS AGAIN AT A STANDSTILL ON MONDAY AS BARRICADES WENT BACK UP IN MANY AREAS OF THE CITY.4

THE FIGHTING SUNDAY NIGHT, WHICH FOR THE FIRST TIME SPREAD TO THE RAS BEIRUT AREA--WHERE MANY AMERICAN RESIDENTS LIVE-- APPARENTLY INVOLVED SUNNI MUSLIM RESIDENTS OF THE RAS AN-NABEH REGION AND CHRISTIANS OF ASHRAFIYAH. 25X1

ON THE POLITICAL FRONT, NO PROGRESS HAS BEEN MADE TOWARD AN AGREEMENT THAT MIGHT CONCEIVABLY PUT AN END TO THE FIGHTING. MONDAY'S SCHEDULED MEETING OF THE POLITICAL REFORM SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE NATIONAL DIALOGUE COMMITTEE WAS POSTPONED UNTIL TUESDAY.4

THE LEBANESE PARLIAMENT IS TO MEET ON TUESDAY, AND KAMAL AL-ASAD, A SHIA MUSLIM, IS EXPECTED TO BE RE-ELECTED SPEAKER WITHOUT

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OPPOSITION. RUMORS ARE SPREADING, HOWEVER, THAT LEFTIST LEADER KAMAL JUMBLATT AND HIS SUPPORTERS IN PARLIAMENT WILL BOYCOTT THE SESSION, POSSIBLY INDICATING A DEVELOPING SPLIT BETWEEN THE SHIA MUSLIMS AND THE LEFTISTS. IN ANY EVENT, THE POLITICALLY IMPOTENT PARLIAMENT IS LIKELY TO HAVE LITTLE INFLUENCE ON THE CONFLICT.

2. SYRIA:

SYRIA IS EVACUATING CIVILIANS FROM

THE GOLAN HEIGHTS

SYRIA INTENDS TO OCCUPY

A PIECE OF ISRAELI-CONTROLLED TERRITORY SO THAT SECRETARY KISSINGER WILL HAVE TO RETURN TO SYRIA AND NEGOTIATE A COMPREHENSIVE

SETTLEMENT.

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MEANWHILE, ASAD CONTINUED HIS VERBAL ASSAULT ON THE SECOND SINAI DISENGAGEMENT AGREEMENT IN A LENGTHY INTERVIEW PUBLISHED ON SATURDAY IN A KUWAITI NEWSPAPER. REITERATING HIS OPPOSITION TO FURTHER PEACE NEGOTIATIONS CONCERNING THE GOLAN HEIGHTS UNLESS THE PASLESTINE LIBERATION ORGANIZATION TAKES PART, THE SYRIAN LEADER SAID HE HAD BEEN OFFERED AN OPPORTUNITY TO ENGAGE IN TALKS SIMILAR TO THOSE IN WHICH EGYPTIAN PRESIDENT SADAT HAD PARTICIPATED. ASAD SAID HE HAD REFUSED BECAUSE THE TALKS WERE AIMED AT ISOLATING THE PALESTINIAN PROBLEM.4

ASAD CRITICIZED EGYPT'S ANTI-SOVIET STANCE AS AN ATTEMPT TO OBSCURE THE PALESTINIAN ISSUE BY OFFERING SAUDI ARABIA AND THE PERSIAN GULF STATES THE CHOICE BETWEEN EGYPT AND COMMUNISM. HE DENIED THAT SYRIA AND THE PALESTINIANS WERE "CHESSMEN IN THE HAND OF THE SOVIETS," AND SAID SYRIA HAD REJECTED MOSCOW'S OFFER OF A TREATY OF PEACE AND FRIENDSHIP.4

THE SYRIAN PRESIDENT SAID THAT DURING HIS RECENT TRIP TO THE

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USSR, THE SOVIETS HAD SHOWN A READINESS TO BACK SYRIA'S STRUGGLE TO RECOVER THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES. HE SAID HE WAS "CONFIDENT THAT WE WILL BE PROVIDED WITH ARMS."

ASAD DID NOT REVEAL SYRIAN INTENTIONS REGARDING THE RENEWAL OF THE MANDATE OF THE UN FORCE ON THE GOLAN HEIGHTS, WHICH EXPIRES ON NOVEMBER 30. HE NOTED, HOWEVER, THAT THE EXISTENCE OF THE OBSERVER FORCE WAS NO BARRIER TO SYRIAN MILITARY ACTION. RECALLING THAT SYRIA HAD INSISTED THAT THE FORCE BE CALLED AN OBSERVER RATHER THAN AN EMERGENCY FORCE LIKE THE ONE IN THE SINAI, ASAD DECLARED, "WHEN WE DECIDE TO WAGE A WAR, THESE OBSERVERS WILL NOT BE AN OBSTACLE."

A SYRIAN MILITARY SPOKESMAN ANNOUNCED ON MONDAY THAT SOME SYRIANS HAD CLASHED WITH AN ISRAELI PATROL ON THE GOLAN HEIGHTS. THE INCIDENT REPORTEDLY TOOK PLACE SEVEN MILES NORTHEAST OF AL QUNAYTIRAH, THE SAME AREA WHERE TWO SYRIAN SHEPHERDS WERE KILLED BY THE ISRAELIS LAST WEEK.

TEL AVIV HAS PLAYED DOWN THE INCIDENT. ISRAELI MILITARY SOURCES ACKNOWLEDGE THAT SHOTS WERE FIRED ACROSS THE UN BUFFER LINE BUT SAID

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THE FIRE HAD NOT BEEN RETURNED. THE ISRAELIS SAID THEY WERE NOT EVEN CERTAIN WHO HAD FIRED THE SHOTS, AND THEY REPORTED NO CASUALTIES. [REDACTED]

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3. SPANISH SAHARA: THE UN SECURITY COUNCIL MET ON MONDAY, AT SPAIN'S BEHEST, TO DISCUSS KING HASSAN'S PLAN TO HAVE 350,000 UNARMED MOROCCAN CITIZENS MARCH INTO SPANISH SAHARA. THE SECURITY COUNCIL PRESIDENT SAID THE MEMBERS WOULD CONSULT PRIVATELY BEFORE MEETING AGAIN.4

SPANISH PRIME MINISTER ARIAS CHAIRED A LONG CABINET MEETING IN MADRID TO DISCUSS HOW TO REACT TO THE MOROCCAN MARCH. ARIAS ALSO MET WITH THE NATIONAL DEFENSE COUNCIL, THE MILITARY POLICY BODY. NO DECISIONS WERE ANNOUNCED. [REDACTED]

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1. JAPAN: AN AMBIGUOUS STATEMENT BY JAPANESE PRIME MINISTER MIKI LAST WEEK HAS AGAIN TOUCHED OFF SPECULATION IN TOKYO THAT A GENERAL ELECTION WILL BE HELD SOON, PERHAPS AS EARLY AS DECEMBER. MIKI SUBSEQUENTLY ISSUED AN EQUIVOCAL DENIAL, SAYING HE HAD NO INTENTION OF CALLING AN ELECTION "AT THIS TIME."

RUMORS ABOUT AN ELECTION HAVE BEEN SIMMERING SINCE LAST SUMMER. THE OPPOSITION PARTY HAS CALLED FOR ONE, YOUNGER DIET MEMBERS AND WOULD-BE CANDIDATES ARE ALREADY CAMPAIGNING, AND MOST POLITICIANS BELIEVE MIKI WANTS AN ELECTION SOONER RATHER THAN LATER.

MIKI ASSUMED POWER AS A COMPROMISE CHOICE WITHIN THE RULING LIBERAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY LAST DECEMBER. HE NEEDS AN ELECTION, EVEN ONE IN WHICH HIS PARTY IS ONLY MODERATELY SUCCESSFUL, TO GIVE HIM A CLAIM TO A POPULAR MANDATE.

STILL, THE PRIME MINISTER AND MOST CONSERVATIVE LEADERS RECOGNIZE THAT WITHOUT AN UPSWING IN JAPAN'S ECONOMY, VOTER DISCONTENT COULD WELL DAMAGE THE PARTY'S FORTUNES.

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2.//KOREA: THE KOREAN QUESTION WILL BE ONE OF THE MOST STRONGLY CONTESTED ISSUES TO COME BEFORE THE UN GENERAL ASSEMBLY THIS YEAR.//4

//THE DEBATE BEGINS IN THE POLITICAL COMMITTEE ON TUESDAY, AND THE MAIN TOPICS ARE THE STATUS OF US FORCES IN KOREA, HOW TO TERMINATE THE UN COMMAND--ESTABLISHED OVER 25 YEARS AGO--AND HOW TO ARRANGE A MECHANISM FOR PRESERVING THE ARMISTICE.//4

4 //THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY CANNOT TAKE DECISIVE ACTION TO RESOLVE
3 THESE ISSUES. US FORCES ARE IN KOREA UNDER A BILATERAL AGREE-
2 MENT, AND ONLY THE SECURITY COUNCIL CAN END THE UN COMMAND.
1 THE ASSEMBLY DEBATE COULD HAVE AN IMPACT ON STABILITY IN THE

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KOREAN PENINSULA//4

//NORTH KOREA AND ITS SUPPORTERS INSIST THAT WHEN THE COMMAND IS TERMINATED, US FORCES MUST WITHDRAW AND NORTH KOREA AND THE US SHOULD NEGOTIATE A BILATERAL PEACE TREATY TO REPLACE THE ARMISTICE.//4

//SOUTH KOREA AND ITS SUPPORTERS OPPOSE WITHDRAWAL OF US TROOPS AND PROPOSE THAT ALL PARTIES CONCERNED--INCLUDING SEOUL--AGREE ON MEASURES TO MAINTAIN THE ARMISTICE MACHINERY AFTER THE UN COMMAND ENDS.//4

//ADOPTION OF THE PRO-NORTH KOREAN RESOLUTIONS WOULD BE USED BY PYONGYANG TO CHALLENGE THE LEGITIMACY OF THE US PRESENCE IN KOREA, OF THE UN COMMAND AND, BY EXTENSION, OF THE ARMISTICE AGREEMENT, SINCE THE UN COMMAND WAS THE ONLY ALLIED SIGNATORY. IT MIGHT ENCOURAGE PYONGYANG TO ASSERT A CLAIM TO THE ISLANDS OFF THE WEST COAST OF KOREA, WHICH THE ARMISTICE AGREEMENT PLACED UNDER UN CONTROL.//4

//PASSAGE OF THE PRO-SEOUL RESOLUTION WOULD PUT THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY ON RECORD IN FAVOR OF CONTINUING THE ARMISTICE AGREEMENT. THIS WOULD OFFSET PYONGYANG'S RECENT DIPLOMATIC

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SUCCESSES AND REINFORCE INTERNATIONAL SUPPORT FOR EXISTING SECURITY ARRANGEMENTS IN KOREA. STILL, THE BASIC PROBLEM WOULD NOT BE SOLVED, FOR THE NORTH KOREANS COULD TRY AGAIN NEXT YEAR TO PUSH THEIR RESOLUTION THROUGH.//Y

//THE POLITICAL COMMITTEE'S VOTE ON THE TWO DRAFT RESOLUTIONS WILL PROBABLY COME NEXT WEEKEND WILL BE CLOSE. THE PRO-SEOUL DRAFT HAS A BETTER-THAN-EVEN CHANCE, ESPECIALLY IF, AS ANTICIPATED, IT GETS VOTED ON FIRST. JAPAN, THE UK, CANADA, AND FRANCE--IN ADDITION TO THE US--HAVE ACTIVELY LOBBIED FOR THE SOUTH KOREANS.//Y

//SEOUL WILL OBTAIN SIZABLE BLOCS OF VOTES FROM WESTERN EUROPE AND LATIN AMERICA, AND IT HAS WORKED DILIGENTLY TO RETAIN THE SUPPORT OF ITS FRIENDS IN ASIA, AFRICA, AND THE MIDDLE EAST.//Y

4 //THE PRO-PYONGYANG RESOLUTION WILL ALMOST CERTAINLY
3 ALSO COME UP FOR A VOTE AND IT TOO MAY PASS, ALSO BY A
2 NARROW MARGIN. NORTH KOREA'S IMPROVED PROSPECTS RESULT
1 IN LARGE PART FROM ITS SUCCESS IN ADDING NON-ALIGNED COUNTRIES

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TO ITS SUPPORTERS AMONG THE COMMUNIST STATES.//4

//OF 48 COUNTRIES THAT VOTED WITH PYONGYANG LAST YEAR, 21 WERE FROM AFRICA AND THE MIDDLE EAST. NORTH KOREA'S POSITION HAS BEEN STRENGTHENED AS NEW COMMUNIST REGIMES HAVE COME TO POWER IN SOUTHEAST ASIA AND OTHER ASIAN GOVERNMENTS HAVE MOVED TOWARD ACCOMMODATION WITH THE COMMUNISTS. PEKING CONTINUES TO HELP WITH STRONG RHETORIC IN NEW YORK AND WITH LOBBYING IN SELECTED CAPITALS. MOSCOW'S SUPPORT IS NOW LARGELY PRO-FORMA.//4

//IF, AS IS POSSIBLE, THE POLITICAL COMMITTEE PASSES BOTH DRAFTS, PRESSURE ALMOST CERTAINLY WOULD DEVELOP FOR SOME KIND OF COMPROMISE IN THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY.//4

//A GROUP OF ASIAN COUNTRIES--MALAYSIA, INDONESIA, SINGAPORE, THAILAND, AND THE PHILIPPINES--^{IS CONSIDERING} A FORMULA THAT INCLUDES PROVISIONS FROM BOTH DRAFT RESOLUTIONS. LIKE THE PRO-SEOUL DRAFT, IT EMPHASIZES THE NEED TO MAINTAIN THE ARMISTICE AGREEMENT AND IT CLEARLY IMPLIES THAT SEOUL SHOULD BE INCLUDED IN SECURITY NEGOTIATIONS. THE PROPOSAL

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EMBODIES PYONGYANG'S LANGUAGE CALLING FOR THE DISOLUTION OF THE
UN COMMAND AND THE WITHDRAWAL OF "FOREIGN" TROOPS.//4

//THE ASIAN STATES ARE HOLDING THEIR DRAFT IN ABEYANCE,
BUT IF THE COMPETING RESOLUTIONS BOTH PASS, SOME VARIATION
OF IT--PERHAPS ONE THAT AVOIDS AN EXPLICIT CALL FOR US
TROOP WITHDRAWALS--MIGHT GATHER MOMENTUM.//4

//STILL, GIVEN THE SHARP DIFFERENCES THAT EXIST BETWEEN
THE TWO SIDES, THE ASSEMBLY SESSION MAY END WITH CONFLICTING
RESOLUTIONS AND WITHOUT CLEAR-CUT RECOMMENDATIONS ON
KOREA.

LATIN AMERICAN LABOR LEADERS FAILED TO PRODUCE A PLAN FOR REVITALIZING THE INTER-AMERICAN LABOR SYSTEM, ORIT, IN TIME FOR THE WORLD CONGRESS OF THE INTERNATIONAL CONFEDERATION OF FREE TRADE UNIONS (ICFTU) NOW BEING HELD IN MEXICO. STILL, THEY ARE ANGRILY RESISTING ATTEMPTS BY OTHER ICFTU AFFILIATES TO IMPOSE REMEDIES ON THE AILING ORIT AND HAVE WON APPROVAL TO CONTINUE THEIR OWN EFFORTS TO REORGANIZE. THE SUBJECT WILL BE ADDRESSED AT AN EXTRAORDINARY CONGRESS NEXT MAY, PROBABLY IN CARACAS.

EUROPEAN LABOR OFFICIALS HAVE ATTACHED ORIT FOR ITS TIES TO THE AFL-CIO, ACCUSING THE LATIN TRADE UNIONISTS OF FALLING UNDER US DOMINATION AND FAILING TO REPRESENT THE INTERESTS OF LATIN WORKERS. SEVERAL SCANDINAVIAN UNIONS WERE THREATENING TO PULL OUT OF THE ICFTU IF ORIT WERE NOT DISBANDED AND REPLACED BY A NEW, LATIN-ONLY ORGANIZATION. ICFTU AFFILIATES HAVE BEEN IMPATIENT WITH ORIT'S STRUCTURAL AND FINANCIAL DISARRAY IN RECENT YEARS, ANNOYED AT THE LATINS' CONNECTION

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WITH AFL-CIO {WHICH IS NOT AN ICFTU MEMBER}, AND DISGUSTED WITH ORIT'S FAILURE TO CONDEMN THE REPRESSION OF UNIONISM IN CHILE.

FOR THEIR PART, THE LATIN LABOR REPRESENTATIVES REMAIN DIVIDED ON MANY INTERNAL ORIT MATTERS, BUT THEY HAVE STOOD SOLIDLY TOGETHER IN BITTER OPPOSITION TO INTERFERENCE FROM OUTSIDE THE REGION. ANOTHER, AND RELATIVELY NEW, POINT OF AGREEMENT IS TO KEEP THE LINK WITH US LABOR, WHICH PROVIDES MUCH NEEDED FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE. BEYOND THAT, IT IS DIFFICULT TO FIND ANY PRACTICAL OR IDEOLOGICAL MATTER THAT UNITES LATIN AMERICAN LABOR.

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